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“Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them.”
JEFFERSON.

THIRD VOYAGE OF THE LIBERIA PACKET.

WE may with some degree of certainty fix upon the 15th of January, as the time for the sailing of the Packet on her third voyage. True, she has not yet been heard from, since leaving the Capes of the Chesapeake on the 12th of September, but barring accidents, we shall see her on or before the 1st proximo, which will give her three months and twenty days for the performance of the voyage, only fifteen days longer than her first voyage, when she was obliged to return by the way of the Cape de Verds, and was there detained several days, taking in cargo and waiting for passengers from the U. S. Squadron. All, therefore, who intend going in the Packet, must make their arrangements to be ready by that time. It is important also, that early notice be given to this office of such intention. Those having freight to send, must also give early notice, the agent being willing now to contract for any amount, less than 500 bbls., but will not hold himself bound to take it, unless early application is made. For terms of freight and passage, for those who go on their own account, see advertisement in the last page of this Journal. The terms on which the society takes emigrants from this state, are as follows:—Passage out, free;—provisions on the voyage, free;—house rent and provisions for six months after arrival in the colony, free;—medical attendance, medicine and nursing if sick during the first year, free;—five acres of good land contiguous to that already appropriated to other colonists and under cultivation, free;—schooling for children, free;—government, and religious worship, all free.

LATEST FROM LIBERIA.

By the J. B. Gager, 36 days from Sierra Leone to New York, we have files of Liberia papers to the 13th of Oct. They however contain little of interest, excepting the New Constitution, which covers two full pages of the Luminary. This document we will lay before our readers in our January No. that they may be able to judge for themselves of the capabilities of the African race, or of coloured Africo-Americans, for self-government. At any rate no one will question the originality of a great part of it, especially the Declaration of Independence, which, although fashioned on the same block as our own time-honoured instrument, yet enumerates a list of griev-

ances and wrongs that the authors of the latter could not easily muster. The new system of government will no doubt work well. On this subject the editor of the *Liberia Herald* remarks:

"We are truly pleased at the unanimity which prevails among our fellow citizens, especially in Montserado and Sinoe Counties, with respect to the proceedings of the late convention. It was hardly to be supposed that any set of men, without the especial inspiration of the Almighty, could form a constitution, which, in all its parts, would be unexceptionable. We are happy to find that the draft which has been submitted to the people, seems every where, except by a few in Grand Bassa, to be favorably received, and will, no doubt, be adopted by a large majority of the people. It is pronounced by persons capable of judging, to be as well adapted, in all its important parts, to the circumstances of the people of these colonies as any that could be produced. The delegates, no doubt, feel exceedingly gratified to find that their labours are so generally appreciated by their constituents. Indeed, the conduct of their constituents in this instance clearly shows, what confidence virtuous and honest representatives may place in the judgment, integrity and moderation of an intelligent and free people.

"While we rejoice at the patriotism of our fellow citizens in this county, we have reason to regret that in the county of Grand Bassa, to some extent, a different feeling prevails. We are informed there are a few disaffected individuals in that county, who, intent only upon romantic schemes, and their own mistaken interest and aggrandisement, are deceiving the people by the most false assertions and insinuations of oppression on the part of the people of this county—and even daring to question the sincerity of the Colonization Society.

"For two years past those men, they are well known to us, have been unremitting in their efforts to sow discontent and disaffection among the inhabitants of Bassa, and to prejudice their minds against the people of this county.

"When the question of independence was seriously agitated, and found to be popular in this county, they seized upon the occasion to propagate the most base and scandalous falsehoods respecting the motives of the people of Montserado county. We allude exclusively to those persons who are now endeavoring to excite the people in Bassa to acts of insubordination. We know well that there are gentlemen in that county, as in this, who opposed from the commencement, any change in our relations with the Society, and done so from honest and patriotic motives. They feared that the time had not arrived for such an important change, that we should not be able to sustain the government without enormous taxation, &c. &c. Not so with those demagogues, though, at the time, they assumed that position. A majority of the people, however, determined upon the measure, and men of intelligence, in the minority, at once submitted to the will of the majority, hence it was sincerely hoped, and confidently believed that unanimity would prevail—notwithstanding the low artifices of these discontented and factious spirits.

"Great harmony prevailed in the convention—the delegates from Bassa taking the lead, and one or two of them loud in their declamations for immediate action. A solemn declaration of independence was issued, and a new government drafted. Now those promoters of sedition and rebellion in Bassa, have changed their position and partially thrown off their masks. They are now endeavouring to mislead the people by impugning the motives of the Society. Telling the people that the constitution should not be adopted until the Society has actually transferred all its property in the colony to the commonwealth; advising them in the meantime to withdraw from this county and form a separate government. We are informed that

they have succeeded too well in imposing falsehood on a number of the innocent people of that county, and have shaken their allegiance to the constitution and laws of their country—strange infatuation. We have reason to believe, however, that some of their wild schemes and atrocious purposes are known to the authorities, and unless they are more cunning than we suppose them to be—we predict, that before they will be able, even for a moment, to gratify their lust of power, and lawless ambition, they will have to account for their conduct, and receive that punishment which the laws inflict upon such atrocious offenders. We do sincerely hope that the good people of Bassa will consider well the measures proposed by those men, who set themselves up as their leaders in this unnatural opposition. We doubt not that upon cool and sober reflection the people will soon be convinced of the ruinous consequences that must result from the measures in which their selfish leaders would engage them, and their resentment and indignation would be justly turned against the wicked contrivers and promoters of their ruin. Our Bassa readers will please understand that we apply the term *leaders* exclusively to three or four swaggering boasters among them, whose plans and designs are somewhat known to us, and it is our object to warn you against them. Will you be involved in a criminal connection—as one of them has been—with a certain dealer not many miles from you? Will you be guilty of the gross inconsistency of another? Consent to be dupes of the third? And submit to the tyranny of the fourth? Surely you will not. Be not deceived. Tear from these men the masks which cover them, expose their real character, and your rights and liberties are secure.”

We are happy to be able to lay before our readers a series of letters published in the *Christian Observer*, from the pen of the Rev. E. N. Sawtell. Of the opportunities of Mr. Sawtell to inform himself in regard to the subjects on which he writes, his first letter, very properly, speaks, and of his ability to improve his opportunity, a careful perusal of the whole of them cannot fail to convince any one. Their object and tendency is to conciliate, to pour oil on the troubled waters, and their general publication throughout the land must effect good.

LETTER No. 1.

FACTS RESPECTING SLAVERY AT THE SOUTH.

New Orleans.

“Watchman! what of the night?” is the cry of many a throbbing heart, respecting the character and developments of slavery, and the prospect of its final extinction; and while a few are possessing their souls in patience, calmly waiting an answer, believing that God will in his own good time, send deliverance; others are giving wings to fancy, and indulging in the most extravagant anticipations of evil, and that continually.

Amid these diversified and conflicting opinions, and the never ceasing commotion of such elements, as are brought to bear on this subject, it behooves every friend of humanity, to communicate whatever facts may tend to emit, or elicit light, or in any way, act as oil on the troubled waves;—not more the subject, than does the peculiarity of the times demand this. In an impulsive and spirit-stirring age like this, mind becomes adventurous and impatient of restraint. It seeks to move in excited, and ever accumulating masses, where it can;—yet dares to move individually and alone, where it must. In the wildest tempests of heated passion, it is ready to break away from its once firm and stable moorings, and to dash forth into deep and unexplored seas, in quest of something new; and though often mistaking a meteor for a fixed star, a rush light for the noon-day sun, it abates

nought of self-confidence: there still remains that undying ardor; that panting for novelty; that struggle "to break the bands asunder," and "cast away the cords;" that death grapple with great principles; which so emphatically mark the present age, evincing the whole of thought, to be launched upon a new sea of wonders; where truth, not fiction, facts, not theories, are needed, as beacon-lights and burning suns, to guide this chaos of mind into a haven of enlightened, sanctified and undisturbed repose.

On a question of such magnitude as *slavery*—involving as it does, the interests of millions, and, it may be, the destiny of two continents, I should not presume to lift a pen, were it not, that my opportunities of a personal and intimate acquaintance with the subject have been somewhat peculiar.

Being a native of New England, and imbibing as I did at an early age, an utter aversion of the system—residing afterwards nearly twenty years in different slave-holding States—travelling frequently and extensively in every State in the Union, where slavery exists—addressing large and popular assemblies of both colours—aiding in the promotion of Sabbath Schools and Bible classes among the blacks—conversing freely with master and slave, respecting the relation they sustain to each other, and the feelings of mutual dependence and attachments between them—together with seven years' residence abroad, listening to the most exciting debates on the subject in Exeter Hall, London, and elsewhere—and now a resident of New York, where every variety of opinion is freely discussed—and, though last not least, never having had any pecuniary interests whatever involved in the question, may perhaps entitle my remarks to as much consideration as those of many others, who have never travelled south of Mason and Dixon's line.

The object of this letter is simply to correct some erroneous impressions, as to the real character of slavery in this country.

The prevailing impression at the North is, that the cruel treatment of the slave, and his consequent sufferings are such, as to demand his immediate and unconditional emancipation. This is one of the most cogent reasons urged, why we should take no time, to consult the future good and interests, either of the master or the slave. And to deepen the impression, the most frightful pictures of sufferings and cruelty have been drawn, and held up to the imagination till the heart has become sick, and the very name of *slave* is associated in the mind, with all the horrors of the "middle passage" and the racks and tortures of the inquisition. Now, with all due respect to the *opinions* of others, I *do know*, that such impressions are not in accordance with facts.

On this subject the Southern character is either not understood, or grossly, though I would hope unintentionally, misrepresented. Bold and chivalrous as is a Southern man in contest with his equals, nothing is more despicable in his eyes than a petty tyrant, who exhibits his prowess only in inflicting wrongs and injuries upon the helpless and unprotected. Naturally high-minded, noble and generous in feelings and sentiments, he is found magnanimous and kind in spirit towards his dependants.

As a general fact, I doubt whether there can be found a class of people in the world, that suffer less, mentally or physically, than the coloured population of the South. None, who have fewer cares and troubles; who wear happier faces; are more jovial and merry—and who sing louder and sweeter than they. For the truth of this I appeal to every man, who has visited the South, and examined this subject for himself, with an unprejudiced, and impartial mind. Exceptions I know there are, but these no more prove the general truth on this subject, than do the convicts in the penitentiaries of New England, prove that all the old Puritans of that land of steady habits are grinding in the prison-house. Hence, when a Northern man enters the Southern States for the first time, and witnesses the familiarity and kindness

between master and servant, he exclaims with wonder, "where are the long whips, the scourges, the groans and tears, of which I have heard so much?" And often have I seen the tear start in the stranger's eye, at beholding the ecstasy of joy, with which these dependants gather around their master, on his return from a long absence, seizing his hand, and seeming to vie with each other, in manifesting their love and attachment to him. And while writing the foregoing sentence, I have had to lay aside my pen, to listen to a touching incident, that illustrates the strength of this attachment, and has drawn tears from my own eyes.

An old coloured matron, the mother of *seventeen children*, on learning my name, and remembering that I was a warm friend to the coloured people, came to see me, and wished to know, "if I had not been to her old master's house, more than twenty years ago?" On reminding me who he was, I answered in the affirmative, and then inquired of his health, and that of her mistress; she burst into tears, and after struggling with her feelings for some time, she replied, "My dear old master and mistress are both in heaven, and it is only about three months since my poor mistress died—and oh! I shall never forget the day she was buried; when I returned from the grave, I thought my heart would break—yes, said she, for more than thirty years, we had bowed the knee together in prayer every day, but we shall pray no more together on earth—but thank the Lord," she exclaimed, "I shall meet them in heaven." On enquiring who her present mistress was, "Oh, I live with my young mistress now, and dear creature, she is like one of my own children, added she, for I have nursed her from an infant, and bless God she is a christian too." "Yes, continued she, the Lord be praised, I think all my own children are christians too—one of my sons is a preacher, and we are all trying to follow the good advice of our dear old master and mistress, that we may meet them in heaven." In order to test the strength of her attachment to the family, I asked her if she would not like to be free? "No freer than I am, said she, it is my mistress's pleasure to please me, and my pleasure, to please her—I stay with her in the city in the winter, and go out to the plantation, and stay with my children in the summer—and hear my son preach, and do as I please—and what more can I want in this world?" When this old christian mother left me, I asked myself, whether it would be a kindness to tear her away from all her attachments and early associations, and run her off to Canada to die in want and penury under the mistaken idea, that the enjoyment of *unrestrained liberty* would be an ample compensation for all the food and raiment, the care and affection she now enjoys, and in which, she is so perfectly contented and happy? And whatever may be the opinions of others, I was satisfied in giving to her Paul's advice, "obey your master in the Lord, for that is right; persevere in well doing, pray for your children, that God may prepare them for still richer blessings, which I believe he has in store for your nation and your people."

Another erroneous impression at the North is, that the Southern slaves are *pushed*, and *driven*, and *overworked*: but the truth is, that one white laborer at the North performs more labour than any two slaves at the South. And this accounts for the fact, that runaway slaves are never known to enter the field, and work shoulder to shoulder with the white man; he knows full well that the amount of labour, that satisfied his southern master, will never satisfy the close calculating man of the North.—Hence, the shoals of these idlers that swarm about the outskirts of our northern cities, a few of whom become ostlers, barbers, hack-drivers, and the like, while the majority plunge into the deepest dens of pollution and vice, become vagrants, and live and die a curse to themselves and society. The purlieus of New York, and of Moyamensing, Philadelphia, furnish ample testimony to this fact. And the plain, incontrovertible truth on this subject is, that the

slaves of the South, as a class, are better provided for, enjoy more comforts, are more temperate and virtuous, come more in contact with religious truth, are more susceptible of its influences, and more contented and happy, than the free coloured population in any part of our country. And many are the instances known to me, of runaway slaves writing and begging permission of their masters to return home, declaring they had been deceived, and in some cases, where their seducers have left them to utter destitution and wretchedness, their masters, rather than receive them back, send them money to supply their wants. Now, this by no means proves slavery to be right, it only proves, that immediate, indiscriminate, and unconditional emancipation, without any regard to the future good of the slave, is radically wrong—it is an injustice to the slave.—But if in sympathizing with the suffering slave, our minds can find any relief by contrasts, we challenge a comparison of his condition in this land of ease and plenty, with that of the ignorant, vicious, famishing millions of the lower class all over the papal world, in every point of view, whether we regard their temporal comforts, their religious instruction, or the standard of morality among them—our slaves are vastly their superiors. And if we go still farther, and draw a comparison between the Africans here, though slaves, and their brethren in their native land, in all their cruel barbarism and beastly degradation, we see almost an infinite advance in their character and condition—and to the eye of faith, it is the harbinger of still richer blessings.

In a word, the history of the world does not furnish an instance of a people, that have emerged from a state of perfect barbarism into that of comparative civilization, more steadily and rapidly than have the African slaves, that have been transported to this country; and their present condition, whether it relates to the comforts of this life, or to the hopes of that which is to come, is infinitely better, more tolerable, and more desirable, than that of three fourths of the population of the globe. But what does all this prove?—that slavery is right? Not at all—it only proves that many a tender heart has been made to bleed over miseries that have no existence—they have been weeping in despair, while they should rejoice in hope. They have been ready to curse God and die, while they should bless Him and live, trust Him and pray. It proves, that in this wretched world there is misery enough to satisfy the most morbid appetite, without the aid of the imagination, and that the true friend of the slave is he who regards his future good, and by patient perseverance is endeavoring to prepare him for freedom, and prepare him a place to enjoy it. In a farther confirmation of this, we shall furnish a few facts in our next.

LETTER No. 2.

“THE MORNING COMETH.” In this letter I wish to call the attention of my Northern friends to a few facts, in which, I am sure, they will recognize the finger of God as pointing to some luminous spots upon that dark cloud, that lowers upon our horizon.

No man who has been in the habit of visiting the South for the last twenty years, and accustomed himself to note the changes, and watch the progress of events, but must have perceived, that on no subject has there been wrought a more visible and marked change in public sentiment than on that of slavery. We will briefly glance at a few of them.

1. The time has been, when Southern minds—with the exception of such men as Washington and Jefferson—were unaccustomed to think of slavery as an *evil* in any sense, and much less, as a system that must come to an end; but now, they speak of these things, as not only probable but *certain*.

2. It was once a law of Louisiana, and is still upon her statute books, “that no black man should presume upon an equality with the whites.”

But now you see them together in the same church, counting-room, and stage-coach, shaking hands, and conversing familiarly, and with more ease and kindness than is ever seen at the North, unless on extraordinary occasions, where there is a desire to make a show of great condescension. It is but a little while since a coloured man, just freed from bondage, preached in the first Presbyterian Church of this city, to as large and refined an audience, as can be assembled in New York or Boston. Frequently have I met the coloured man here in ecclesiastical bodies, taking part in their deliberations, and seated with his brethren at the same domestic table—circumstances, which, twenty years ago, would have produced a mob—but now looked upon with approbation.

3. At one time, it was never supposed possible, to make any thing more of a black man, than one of the *lowest menials*, but it is now no uncommon thing, to find him in the shop, employed in the most curious and difficult branches of the mechanic arts, or standing at the desk beside his master keeping his books, and carrying on his correspondence.

4. There was a time, when public sentiment united with the law, in prohibiting the education of the slave, but though the letter of the law stands, public sentiment says, "let every man do as he pleases"—and when either his sense of duty, or his interest inclines him to do it, there are few, who dare say aught against it. In visiting a family, but yesterday, and noticing the intelligence and familiarity of the servants, and their love for reading books and newspapers, the gentleman remarked, "you must not think strange of the familiarity of my servants—having no children of my own—I have made pets of all of them; and as they are to inherit my property, I want to educate them, and fit them for enjoying it, I tell them, that they don't know but there is a Judge or a President among them, or a successor of Governor Roberts, and they must bestir themselves, and prepare for the responsibilities." And I said, "*Amen*"—nor did I feel the least disposition to steal them away, or run them off to Canada.

5. Twenty years ago it was the settled conviction, here at the South, that white laborers could never endure this climate; hence the plea for Slavery, But the thousands, and tens of thousands of the Irish and German emigrants, that have poured in here, from the old world, and which are seen every where rolling cotton bales, or hogsheads of sugar, driving hacks, or drays, or firing their engines, and actually supplanting the blacks in many departments of labour—is settling the question beyond all controversy, that slavery is not only an unnecessary evil—but white, free labour being better performed and more profitable, it is a *pecuniary evil*.

Thus God in his own good time and way, and without any of man's wisdom, is opening the eyes of thousands, and weakening the bands every year, that have so long bound together the master and the slave.

6. Once more. Till lately, it has been thought, by the large sugar and cotton growers of the South, that even were it possible for white labour to endure the climate, still, the vast number of hands necessary to carry on their heavy operations, rendered the slave system absolutely indispensable, and to hire the number of hands they needed, in certain seasons of the year, was quite out of the question. But in a recent conversation on this subject, with one of the largest sugar planters in Louisiana, he said to me, "I can make more money off my plantation, by cutting it up into small farms, erecting little cottages, and renting them to these families of emigrants, they bringing to my sugar house so much cane annually for the rent, thus relieving me from all the vexations, responsibilities and expenses of providing for a hundred and fifty slaves, that must be fed and clothed, and taken care of when sick, whether the crop fails or not"—"and the time is not far distant," added he, "when these experiments will be made, to the entire satisfaction

of every Southern man, thereby rendering slavery a pecuniary burden too grievous to be borne—and which must be thrown off.

These are but specimens of the changes going on here in the public mind; only let them progress silently and steadily a little longer, and let things take their natural course, under the guidance of God's superintending providence, and ere long, the anxious cry will be heard from the South, not, "*how shall we keep:*" but how shall we *get rid* of our slaves? Who will take them off our hands? Where is there a place provided for them? And, wonderful as it may seem, while God has been working these changes in the South, He has, at the same time, been working in the hearts of christians and philanthropists, inciting them to prepare, for the slave, a home in the land of his fathers, and paving the way of his return to it. How delightful, to recognize the hand of God in all this!

With the eye turned to Liberia, and the heart lifted up to God, we are ready to exclaim, "there is hope for the slave!" "There is hope for Africa!" "There is hope for our own country!"

But let us advert briefly to a few other facts, that mark the signs of the times on this subject.

In no former period, since the existence of slavery, has there been such attention paid to the religious instruction of the slaves, as in the last ten years; and in no parts of the world have there been gathered richer fruits, to encourage the laborer. It is also worthy of especial notice, that while our country generally has been suffering a spiritual dearth, and many mourning the absence of revivals, and the declension of piety, *the Southern States have been sharing more largely in the gracious influences of God's converting spirit than any other portion of our country, and emphatically is this true of the coloured population.* Now if we connect these facts with the foregoing, and mark their coincidence, the changes here wrought in the public mind; the various causes, that are operating, to render slave labor less and less productive, thereby gradually loosing the bonds of the slave; the instruction that is now being given them; the outpouring of the spirit, and converting them to God, together with the brightening prospects of Liberia; what other interpretation can be given to all this, but that God, in his own way, and in his own time, is raising up, and preparing missionaries, school-teachers and statesmen, for that infant, but growing republic, that is beginning to attract the attention and admiration of the civilized world! During my present tour, I have taken especial pains, to obtain information respecting the amount and extent of religious instruction among the slaves—and it is truly surprising and cheering, to witness the almost universal feeling and interest on this subject, and the extent to which they have carried out their plans, in establishing schools and churches, and obtaining missionaries and teachers for the sole benefit of the coloured people. Some of the church edifices, that are neat and costly, are owned by the slaves themselves, with regularly organized churches, large and orderly congregations, where they enact their own laws, manage their own finances, take up collections for benevolent objects, and would think themselves slighted to be passed by—without giving them the privilege of doing their part. One of these very churches raised between fifty and a hundred dollars to send to the poor Irish. Some of their churches are very large, numbering from one to two thousand communicants. It is very common in the country, for several planters to unite in the erection of a house of worship for their coloured people—and though exclusively for them—the masters and mistresses, feeling a real pride in the elevation and good conduct of their servants, occasionally attend, to manifest their approbation, and encourage them in well-doing, and feeling themselves rather as intruders, they of course take the *lowest seat*; but it is curious, to witness the effect of their presence. The natural pride of character is at once on the alert, and manifests itself in the erect posture

they assume, adjusting their dresses, breast pins and bracelets (for without seeing the face, we should class many of them among the "*upper ten thousand*") and then the rolling of eyes upon each other, as much as to say, "let each one do his prettiest." This is all as perfectly natural, as it would be to children, who were anxious to please their parents. Then at the closing of the service, when they get into their happiest mood, like the Methodists, they begin to walk around shaking hands with all, and singing in the most melodious strains—and with no respect of person, they seize their master's and mistress' hands, shouting to the top of their voice, "we are bound for the kingdom," till tears flow from every eye, and myself left in momentary doubt, whether I was in the kingdom above or below.

If then we turn our eyes to the Sabbath Schools, we see the same to encourage the heart, and call forth our gratitude to God. I have preached in churches, where are schools of from *one to two hundred* coloured children, all learning to read the Bible, the laws against it notwithstanding. I have seen the delicate christian female that would grace any parlor in New York, and the owner of a hundred slaves, sitting in the school room from morning till night, spending her strength in teaching her young slaves, and endeavouring to prepare them for the enjoyment of freedom; and this she does month after month, herself the most perfect slave of all; and she lives among them, not of choice, but because she dare not run away from a duty, which she feels that God, in his mysterious providence, has imposed upon her.

Now, is it not hard, that when this Christian lady visits the North for a little relaxation from her duties, and needing the sympathies and prayers of christians, she should find herself debarred from the communion of saints, and her name cast out as evil, because she had the misfortune to be born south of the Potomac, and cannot see it her duty, to cast off these poor, ignorant and helpless beings upon the cold charities of the world.

Another lady similarly situated, said to me, "I am living here, an exile from my home, on account of my slaves, which have been entailed upon me, and which I cannot part with, for they will not consent to be separated from me."

But it may be said, these are extreme cases: be it so, but they are multiplying every day—and if we, at the North, will but let them alone, "and cease to do evil," if we will but fall in with the leadings of God's providence, seek to know his will, and mark the significant signs, that are pointing to the ultimate good, and glorious results, which God designs to bring out of this evil, and instead of abusing our brethren at the South, and throwing obstacles in their way, seek to encourage and aid them, by our prayers and sympathies; then may this work continue to progress, until every son and daughter of Ham be blessed, not with freedom *only*, but with that light and liberty, wherewith Christ makes his people free.

LETTER No. 3.

"ETHIOPIA SHALL SOON STRETCH OUT HER HANDS TO GOD."

In listening to speeches and remarks at the North on the subject of slavery, one would be led to suppose, that all the sympathy ever felt for the slave, and all that has ever been done, or is now doing to ameliorate his condition, were confined to Northern people, or non-slaveholding States—and that Southern men cannot possibly have any fellow-feeling, or sympathy with the slave, or even do any thing for his elevation or freedom. Hence the cries and groans of these noisy speech-making men at the North—as if the whole burden of this great work rested upon their shoulders—and that if they were to cease to cry aloud—the whole world would go to sleep.

Now, the good people at the North, who really desire to know the truth on this subject—ought not to be kept in ignorance. They ought to know, that there is more genuine kindness felt, more enlightened benevolence exercised, more sacrifices made, and more practical ways and means adopted for the education, religious instruction, and final elevation of the slaves, by people here at the South, than ever was dreamed of at the North. But here, they do not make a world of noise about it; aiming at no impossibilities—taking hold of the evil, as they find it, not as they would have it—their work is a practical one—they are “laying the axe at the root of the tree;” and though unostentatious and silent in its operations, is sure and progressive—and like heaven, destined to leaven the whole lump. A single instance will illustrate what I mean—and will exhibit also, that far-reaching, enlightened philanthropy, that is rapidly pervading the South on this subject.

In compliance with a previous engagement, and in company with two other gentlemen, I attended divine service, last Sabbath, at what may be called the “negro quarters,” of one of the wealthiest gentleman in Louisiana, who was one among the first settlers of the State. On entering the immense enclosure, surrounded by a high fence, and seeing houses of all sizes and descriptions, it reminded me of an Italian villa, in the midst of which stood the mansion of the old master, but little superior to those of his slaves. The largest and most prominent building however, was a commodious brick church, erected exclusively for the accommodation of his coloured people.

The old veteran received us, with that cordial hospitality, so universal in the South—and no sooner seated, than the conversation began upon the all important subject of *slavery*, its moral and pecuniary curse; the certainty of its final abolition, and the importance of educating the mind, elevating the character, and preparing the slave for that liberty, which he felt sure, God designed he should one day enjoy—topics, which Northern people suppose, are never broached here at the South, but which in fact are discussed more freely, more sensibly, and with far more enlightened Christian views than at the North—and for this very good reason, that they *here* better understand the subject. He had hardly begun however to give his own views on the subject, before one of his servants announced that it was “meeting-time.”

“Gentlemen,” said he, as he arose, “will you accompany me to church?”

Of course, we wished to do nothing else.—On entering the church door, there was seated one of the most orderly, well dressed and well behaved congregations that one will find any where—composed solely of his own coloured people, and one of his own slaves in the pulpit giving out the hymn; after singing and prayer, he delivered a most sensible and appropriate sermon. At the close of the services, they began singing one of their soul stirring hymns, and soon getting into their happiest mood, they began to move about, shaking hands with each other—till finally coming into our corner, where we happened to be seated, they seized first their old master’s hand, then mine, and so on—singing in the most melodious strains—

“Oh, who will come and go with us,
“We are bound for the promised land.”

Tears rolled down the furrowed cheeks of their old master, as they held his hand, and we all wept together.

On returning to the house, and anxious to hear more of his views on the great subject of preparing these immortal beings for liberty in this world, and happiness in the next,—he began; “why,” said he, “we must educate them, we owe it to our slaves, and we now have the power to do it;

we must instruct them in the Christian religion, in the mechanic arts, in the principles of free government, or their freedom would prove a curse instead of a blessing.

"I speak not," said he, "theoretically, but from experience. I have already educated about one hundred of mine, and who have, of their own choice, gone to Liberia; some of them are merchants, some farmers, and others mechanics. I gave two of them a collegiate education, and the rest, I educated myself—and I have the satisfaction of knowing, that they are all doing well, are useful and happy; one of them is a missionary, and he writes me, that he has nearly two hundred native African children in his school; teaching them our language, our religion, and our laws; and," said he, "that you may see for yourselves, read these letters;" here he handed a number of letters, received from the Colony of Liberia; from those that were once his own ignorant slaves, and to say nothing of the elegance of diction and penmanship; they were so filled with expressions of joy and rejoicing, of love and gratitude to their master, as to make it utterly impossible to read them without weeping; addressing him with such endearing appellations, as, "dear father," "dear parent," "dear benefactor," and declaring at the close, that they had but one single wish for ever visiting the United States again, and that was, "that they might see, once more, their dear old father, before he died." "Now," said this old gentleman; "this is my idea of our duty and obligations to the slaves, and of God's purposes in sending them here, and what I have done for those in Liberia, and am going to do for all."

On asking him, how he managed to teach so many himself? he replied, "I have them divided into four classes: at day-light, on Sabbath morning, I call the first class, and drill them in reading, and spelling till breakfast. After breakfast, the second class is called, and they go through the shorter catechism and the ten commandments; then comes the hour for public worship, when one of the servants, who is a minister, becomes the teacher, and I the learner. After public service the other two classes, more advanced, are carried through their respective lessons in the same way, as those in the morning. "This is the way" said he, "I spend all my Sabbaths; nor do I suffer any intrusion from my neighbours, unless it be one who is desirous of learning the art of doing good, and of training up his slaves for the high purposes and destiny for which God designs them."

And I could not but reflect myself, how much more evidently was this man in the path of his duty, than those who think their Sabbaths well spent in denouncing slaveholders as man-stealers, and anathematizing every one, who will not consent to turn his slaves loose into the woods, all at once, and with none to care for their souls or bodies.

But another peculiarity in this man's system of training his slaves for freemen is; that he allows of no arbitrary control or punishment. In fact, his slaves are organized into a perfect republic; possessing all the elements of a free legislative government. Their trials for any misdemeanor or crime, are by jury; witnesses examined, and especial pleadings with all the solemnities of a court. In important and difficult cases, the old master is sometimes called in, to preside as Judge, and decide upon some difficult points of law; but the verdict, the sentence, and its execution are all in their own hands.

Thus it is, in this way, they are learning important and practical lessons in the principles of civil polity and jurisprudence. And if we ask this benevolent man, for his motive in all this, his answer is worthy of being recorded in golden capitals. "Why," said he, "intelligence, virtue, and religion constitute the only sure basis of a republic. I believe Africa is to be a republic, and receive our language, laws and institutions, and I believe the cupidity of England in first introducing slaves upon this continent is to

be overruled for the furtherance of this cause, and so many of these instruments, as God in his providence has placed in my hands, I want to prepare and get them ready to meet their high responsibilities, when the time for action shall come." I responded a long and loud AMEN, sincerely believing that this man is in the path of his duty.

But should it be thought, that this man must be made an exception as a simple hearted, weak minded, religious fanatic; whose example goes for nothing, let me say, it is a great mistake. He is one of the shrewdest of men; far-seeing in his plans. Nor is he a member of any church; but he believes in the Bible, and, that education is just as necessary for the blacks, as for the whites, to constitute them good and happy citizens of a free government.

But another interesting fact in this man's history is, that he was one of the first commission merchants of New Orleans, to whom were consigned ships containing cargoes of slaves for sale; and for many years was engaged in this unrighteous traffic like Newton, without ever thinking of its being a sin. Now, mark the changes in the life of one, and the same man. He, who in his youth was engaged in importing and filling the land, with the most ignorant and degraded barbarians, is now engaged in educating them, teaching them the principles of our holy religion, and sending them back civilized and Christianized to bless and save the land of their fathers. If such be the changes in the life of one man, what may not this century do, in converting the curse and shame of this country into the richest blessing for Africa? I confess in this view of the subject, there is in my own mind, a sublimity and glory surrounding this subject, surpassing that of any, and all others, that the church, or the world, has ever conceived.

LETTER No. 4.

"For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord."

In my foregoing letters, I have adverted to a few of the many facts, that have fallen under my own observation, which I have thought calculated to give encouragement and hope to intelligent Christians and philanthropists, who are capable of taking enlarged and comprehensive views, of this exciting subject; and who are labouring with a sincere desire, to accomplish the highest good of the slave, in his intellectual and moral elevation, as preparatory to his final redemption, and ultimately, the salvation of his race—and though the subject and the facts are alike exhaustless, I shall conclude what I have to say for the present; by reverting to a few general facts, connected with the providences of God, and seeming to have a direct bearing on this subject.

And now, if we will but break away from our own littleness, and view the grand scale upon which God accomplishes his plans and purposes in reforming and elevating the nations of the earth, may not the Christian find, even amid the darkness and forebodings that have so long enveloped this subject, something to cheer his spirits, and animate his hopes? How wonderful and comprehensive are God's purposes, as now being developed on this very subject! To our shores is the tide of emigration setting in from the papal world, with a strength and power unparalleled; augmented every year by famine and pestilence and other causes, on the other side of the water; thus pouring in upon us millions of vassals from the old world, to obtain a knowledge of our language, our laws, of true liberty, and a pure Christianity—and, at the same time, supplanting our own slaves, rendering their services less and less valuable every year, thereby weakening and cutting the cords, that have so long bound them to their masters, thus creating another tide, that is setting back towards Africa; carrying out to that dark land, filled with the habitations of cruelty, those who came here

slaves, but now redeemed, enlightened, Christian freemen; going back to proclaim, in our language, light and liberty to all Africa; hereby giving a promineny and importance to our country, our language, and laws, and institutions, that no other country in the world possesses.

It is in fact elevating this great republic into a kind of umpire between two continents of slaves; to decide upon their destiny; making it the very centre of power and influence, to instruct, elevate, and Christianize the population of half the globe—the *slaves of papal Europe, and the slaves of pagan Africa*.^{*} What fearful responsibilities rest upon our country and the church! responsibilities too, which God has seen fit to impose upon us, and of which we cannot rid ourselves, if we would. What wisdom and virtue will be needed in the councils of the nation! What holiness, faith and prayer in the church, if we would be prepared to meet them! Three millions of instruments placed in our hands, to sharpen, polish, and prepare for the subjugation of a continent to the prince of peace! how overwhelming the thought! "Who is sufficient for these things?" Nor let us suppose that this is the work of a day or a year. In working out His stupendous problems for the redemption of men and nations, God takes his own time, nor must we become impatient and restive, though His chariot wheels may seem to move slow. "A thousand years with the Lord is as one day." Had we been permitted, at the dawn of creation, to look out upon that wild, unsightly chaos, "without form and void," we might have become impatient for God to relieve our nice sensibilities, by doing up his work in a single day; but He took six, and the morning stars sang just as sweetly, as though he had finished it in the twinkling of an eye.

For four thousand years, God was preparing his people by severe discipline, and the world by heavy judgments, for the coming of the Redeemer; and nearly two thousand more have passed away before Africa is seen *stretching out her hands to God*. Had this work been committed to us, with powers to accomplish it, but no additional wisdom; we no doubt would have hurried it through, in a much shorter time; but the probability is, that it would not have been perfect before God; a screw would have fallen out somewhere, and the whole thing have to be done over again.

Like the impetuous young man, on entering the work of the holy ministry. With ardent spirit and buoyant hopes, he has no idea of waiting the slow movements of his elder brethren, in converting this world to God; they are behind the age. They are wanting in faith, zeal and courage; he is going to do up the thing in his own way, and in his own life-time; he has no thought of leaving any thing else for the next generation to do, but to chant the triumphs of his victorious arm. But by the time he has left Jericho, and fought a few battles with the beasts of Ephesus, and contended with principalities and powers, and wickedness in high places; and where he had looked for an unconditional surrender, at the flourishing of his infant blade, he has had the mortification to receive from the enemy "forty stripes save one." Then indeed, does he begin to find that sin is something more than an error of judgment; and something more powerful than moral suasion is necessary to convert a soul to God. And when convinced of his own impotency, he comes finally to the same conclusion that Paul did, "of myself I can do nothing," and thinks it wiser and better, to fall in with the leadings of Divine providence, and become a *co-worker with Christ*, than attempt to wrest the reins from his hand; that it is wiser and better, to remain in the ship, and obey orders, and pull at the ropes, than attempt to seize the helm, or control the storm.

^{*} We beg leave to decline an endorsement of this sectarian rhapsody, it certainly mars the beauty of the letters, and leads one to regret that the writer is not as free from *religious* and from sectional bigotry.—ED. JOUR.

Thus it is, when God is working these great changes and revolutions among men and nations, carrying out his glorious and eternal purposes of mercy, as now being developed towards the African race; there are no short cuts, or patent rights, by which to hasten the work, or to turn it out of its legitimate channel. All the Christian graces are to be brought into requisition and constant exercise; faith, hope, charity, prayer and supplication, patient discussion and laborious efforts are all, *all* needed for the conflict. Yes, this very subject of slavery has got to be discussed; but the weapons of this warfare must be changed; and the discussion conducted in that spirit of love and Christian forbearance, that our Southern brethren can take a part in it; and be made to feel that we are all one.

The eyes of the North, and the South too, have undoubtedly to be opened by argumentation, to behold many points and facts connected with this subject, which they now see only "as through a glass darkly." England and the North have yet to feel, that they are not guiltless in the sin of slavery; and that it ill becomes them, after employing their ships and their capital in filling the whole Southern country with slaves, just to pocket the money, wash the blood from the decks of their ships, turn round, and anathematize every Southern man for the awful sin of slavery; as if a man, who tied a millstone around his fellow's neck, and pushed him into the sea, had an undoubted right to curse him, because he could not swim as buoyant as himself; or the man, who would besmear his guest with filth, and then shut the door in his face, as being quite unworthy a seat at his table. No, let this subject be discussed till the world shall understand on whom the sin of slavery rests; and then "let him who is without sin cast the first stone." Let it be discussed, too, till the whole South are made to see, as some of them begin to see, that by educating and Christianizing their slaves, they can turn this seeming curse into a blessing to the slave and to Africa; and cause it to redound to the honour and glory of all the South. Yes, they have here in the South, the grand lever for raising Africa; let the foot of it be placed at Liberia; let Christians, and patriots, and philanthropists throw their weight upon this end of it, making the Bible the fulcrum, and ere long Africa, with her sable millions, will be seen emerging from the long night of cruel tyranny and barbarism, into the pure sunlight of Christian civilization; annexing herself by indissoluble bonds of grateful affection to this, her sister, patron-republic; and with her churches and schools, her colleges and legislative halls, her poets, and her orators, take a proud and enviable position among the enlightened and civilized nations of the earth. The Lord hasten it in his time, and to Him be the glory.

E. N. SAWTELL.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY LIBERIA.

The promulgation of this measure on the part of the colony of Liberia, in this country, has given rise to many erroneous impressions as to its cause and of its effects upon the cause of colonization. The most serious consequences are apprehended, and as various and contradictory as they are serious. The abolitionists glory in the measure, as they hope it has resulted from, or will result in a misunderstanding between the colonies and the colonization societies. Another party declares them incapable of self-government, although they have been *actually* self-governed for near twenty years. Others apprehend that emigration will be prohibited by the colonists, except under severer and onerous restrictions, thereby rendering the whole colonization scheme abortive. Many are timid and apprehensive from some

yet undiscovered cause. Above the whole, however, is heard the crowing of the press at the birth of this new republic in Africa, warmly welcoming the young darkie into the family of nations, especially if she will keep her own side of the water.

We would remind our friends in this state, that the "Colony of Maryland in Liberia" stands just where it did, that it is entirely disconnected with the present movement; and the relation heretofore existing between it and the Maryland State Colonization Society, remains entirely unchanged. The following notice of the event is taken from the African Repository, and we trust it will calm the alarmed, and hush the alarmists, and disappoint those amiable friends of the colonies, who would be satisfied with nothing short of a quarrel between them and their nursing mother.

INDEPENDENCE OF LIBERIA.

THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA has taken her place among the independent nations of the earth. The convention which assembled in July, drafted a new constitution, which was voted upon and adopted by the people in September.

We consider this event as a cause of profound gratitude to the great Ruler among the nations. How should every heart leap for joy at the sight of a young republic springing up on that dark and heathen coast!

We have been frequently asked how will this change in the government of Liberia affect the Colonization Society? And we have uniformly answered, in the most favorable manner. Heretofore the Society has appointed the Governor and paid his salary. Now both these duties will be performed by the citizens of the republic. Heretofore the Society has held a *veto* power over all the laws passed in the colonial council; but they have not had occasion to exercise this power in the last seven years! Now they surrender this power.

In all other respects the Society stands related to the colony just as it did before the change in their government. It will continue to sympathize with them in all their trials, to aid them in all their noble endeavors to do good, and to send out emigrants to be incorporated into the republic, upon the terms, and with the same rights and privileges, as they have heretofore been.

It ought to be distinctly understood, and constantly borne in mind, that this change in the relations of the Society and the colony has been made with their mutual consent and co-operation. It has not had its cause or origin in any bad working of the previous system. But in the belief that other nations would more respect Liberia in her present, than in her previous condition.

It was also considered that the time had come when the coloured man should demonstrate to the world his competency to maintain an independent and national existence.

Let nobody suppose that *now* the work of colonization is finished! By no means! Emigrants are yet to be sent to Liberia. And this new and independent aspect of Liberia places her claims upon new grounds.

The institutions of education and religion are yet to be maintained and greatly enlarged. She must not now be left to struggle alone. She wants more men in every department. She must have educated men to manage her affairs, and men with capital to carry on and extend her commerce. Such men are growing up in the colony. But they need more of them from this country.

Let all the friends of colonization redouble their diligence and their liberality in this work. The circumstances demand it.

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE CHESAPEAKE AND LIBERIA TRADING COMPANY.

This company exists under a charter from the State of Maryland. As its name implies, its object is the establishment of commercial intercourse between the ports of the Chesapeake, viz: Baltimore and Norfolk, and the various Liberia colonies. It has a cash capital paid in of \$20,000, with liberty to extend the same to \$100,000. Over one-fifth of the stock is now owned by colored people in this country and in Liberia, the remainder by whites, with the condition annexed, that they shall transfer the same to any colored persons demanding it, at its fair value. The company now own one vessel, the Liberia Packet, a barque of 331 tons, officered and manned by colored men, with the exception of the master, whose place will be filled by a colored man as soon as one suitable can be obtained. The company have formed an arrangement or contract with the Maryland and with the American Colonization Societies, to take such freight and emigrants as they may offer, on terms depending upon the amount offered, the said societies guaranteeing a certain amount of freight and number of passengers per annum. The said societies therefore, are always to have the preference over any other parties, in case the freight offered exceeds the capacity of the vessel. The company also proposes to ship goods and merchandise on its own account, when the capacity of the vessel is not required to transport the passengers and freight of the societies. It proposes to take both cabin and steerage passengers to and from the colonies, to fill all orders for goods given by colonists, to transact through its agent any commission business for the colonists or others residing on the coast, to take out or bring back any freight, packages or letters that may be offered, always reserving the right to refuse merchandise out, in case the capacity of the vessel is desired by the Colonization Societies or the company.

The Packet will be kept constantly running between the Chesapeake and the Colonies, and early notice will be given through this Journal of the time of her sailing.

TERMS:

FOR CABIN PASSAGE,—(either way)	\$100 00
FOR STEERAGE “ “ “	40 00
FOR FREIGHT OUT, per cubic foot for measured goods,	30
per barrel,	1 50
for metal, per ton,	10 00
FOR FREIGHT HOME,—per ton for camwood,	10 00
for palm oil, per gallon, or capacity of casks,	04
for other packages, per cubic foot,	25

Passage and freight, when not consigned to the Agent, payable in advance.

All communications respecting the Packet or the business of the Company, must be addressed to

Dr. JAMES HALL,

Managing Agent, P. O. Building, Balto.

TERMS.

This Journal is published Monthly, and is furnished to Subscribers at \$1 per year, whether sent by mail or otherwise. All profits arising from its publication are applied to advance the general purposes of the society.

§3 All Communications intended for the Maryland Colonization Journal, or on business of the Society, should be addressed to Dr. JAMES HALL, General Agent, Colonization Rooms, Post Office Building.

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